

### Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement

by Daniel Levine

Bayard Rustin is most remembered as the organizer who made the 1963 March on Washington happen. He organized or did himself the day-to-day grunt work like arranging transportation and renting facilities. He also worked on grand plans and vision for that day. But he was much more than that. He had been one of the very few to adapt the theory and practice of Non-Violent Direct Action (NVDA) to race relations in the United States. NVDA was created for quite different circumstances and was counter to American traditional culture, so the process was a slow one. After 1965, Rustin favored moving "From Protest to Politics," the title of his most famous article. He was always an integrationist who stood strongly against ideas of separatism or black nationalism. He tried, and only partly succeeded, to unite the labor movement with the drive for racial justice, because he believed both were primarily issues of economic class. His is also

the story of a man finding out that moral crusades, no matter how righteous, are futile unless combined with actual power, political power.

Rustin came to the Civil Rights Movement from the international pacifist movement, where he had intimate knowledge and experience of non-violent direct action. As a member of the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) in the 1930s and 1940s, he ran NVDA workshops all over the country, sometimes actually trying out the method by challenging racism in department stores or restaurants. Throughout the Civil Rights Movement, Bayard Rustin was always there. He was there in the 1940s, when the struggle for black equality seemed discouragingly small. He was there as the movement accelerated in the 1950s. He was with King in Montgomery and with the students when they revitalized the movement in the 1960s. When he was not physically at the center, people who were would be constantly on the telephone with him.

child and adult, always included blacks and whites. He was a superb student in high school, a talented singer and athlete. He went for a year or two to several colleges, but did not graduate from any. At City College of New York, he was, for about a year and a half, a member of the Young Communist League, because the YCL opposed American entry into World War II. Rustin was a pacifist who had joined the Society of Friends (the church of his great-grandmother) in 1936. When Hitler attacked Russia and the Communist Party abandoned pacifism, Rustin abandoned the Party.

He would not serve in the military nor co-operate in any way with Selective Service, although in later years he said that if he had known about the Holocaust, he would have served in some non-combat capacity. In the 1940s, he and other "non-cooperators" went to prison. Bayard Rustin was a difficult prisoner. He was constantly challenging racial segregation, and he

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#### Rustin's Background

Rustin was born in 1912 in West Chester, Pennsylvania, but lived most of his life in New York, only briefly in Harlem. Since his mother was only 16 and unmarried when he was born, he was raised by his grandparents, whom he always thought of as "ma and pa." His circle of friends, as a

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was an active homosexual. He had discovered his homosexuality as a teenager, and was for decades tortured about it. He considered homosexuality wrong, in religious terms, a sin. In prison, he was punished for it by isolation. His isolation was in the prison library, which in fact was a wonderful opportunity, given his passion for learning. In 1945, Rustin and other pacifists were stunned by news of the atomic bomb. They felt that all other crusades had to be suspended in the face of this threat to all life. He became a model prisoner, and was released in March of 1947.

The half dozen years after his release were ones of whirlwind activity. He moved into an apartment on Mott Street in New York City, a building filled with reformers and activists. He began talking with George Houser, who was also thinking about how NVDA could be applied to race relations, about a "Journey of Reconciliation," a bus trip through the segregated South by an interracial group. The Supreme Court had outlawed segregation on interstate travel in 1946, but the decision was not enforced. A "Journey of Reconciliation" would challenge state segregation laws and perhaps bring the whole question of segregation to national attention. The Journey began in Washington in April of 1947, going not into the deep South,

but in the border states. There was a bit of violence in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Bayard and others were arrested, and the Journey went on, but no further south than Tennessee, then back to Washington. If Rustin, Houser and the others hoped to bring segregation to national attention, they failed. The Journey was only noticed by the Afro-American press, but it became the model for the "Freedom Rides" of 1961.

Rustin's trial was a year later. After a 15-minute deliberation, he and another rider were convicted and given a sentence of 30 days on a chain gang. The verdict was of course appealed.

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### ***Rustin made the 1963 March on Washington happen.***

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Also in 1947, Rustin ran, and A. Philip Randolph chaired, a "League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation." In March of 1948, President Truman met with a number of "Negro" leaders, including Randolph, and issued a somewhat ambiguous order desegregating the military. Randolph thought the order was adequate, and the League disbanded.

While the appeal of his North Carolina conviction was going on, Rustin traveled to India, via London, to a world peace conference. This was the first of many trips to London, and he developed an English accent, which he could turn off and on. When and why he spoke with that accent is not clear. In India, Rustin traveled and spoke widely, becoming a much admired figure, and met the major Indian leaders. A few weeks later, he was on the chain gang in North Carolina. He served, with "good time," 22 days. His account of those days, as reported in the *New York Post*, August 22-26, 1949, was one factor which led to abolition of the chain gang in the state.

During the Summer of 1951, a black family rented an apartment in Cicero, Illinois, and was greeted by a white mob. Walter White from the

NAACP was there, and FOR sent Houser and Rustin. The latter two drew up a sensible practical proposal for the Cicero Committee of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, a private group, saying that mob violence must not be allowed to prevail. The proposal was ignored, and the black family felt they had to move out. Mob violence prevailed. Later, however, the police chief and several town officials were convicted under federal law for not doing their duty.

NVDA had failed on the Journey of Reconciliation, but the threat of civil disobedience succeeded in the campaign to end segregation in the military. NVDA had failed in Cicero, but eventually there was progress with federal help. Rustin was gradually coming to the conclusion that NVDA needed the aid of political power to make any progress.

NVDA had been developed in an anti-colonial campaign. Perhaps it could be further developed in other anti-colonial battles, perhaps Africa. In 1952, under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and FOR, Bayard attended another world peace conference in England, then a quick stop in Paris, then to Africa, particularly the Gold Coast (later renamed Ghana), to meet Kwame Nkrumah and other African leaders. But it would be hard to find any effect on the anti-colonial process from the American NVDA effort.

Rustin returned to the United States and resumed his writing and lecturing all over the country. He was by now the leading theorist and practitioner of Non-Violent Direct Action in the country, was in fact "Mr. NVDA." He was an obvious choice for a leadership position in FOR or some organization in the growing Civil Rights Movement.

Then he was arrested in Los Angeles, not for any pacifist or civil rights activity, but on a "morals" (that is, homosexuality) charge. In January of 1953, he was convicted and sentenced to prison. He was devastated; again overcome by guilt. His friends and associates, far from being supportive,

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# “The Goal of Inclusive, Diverse Communities”: Introduction to the final report of the National Commission on Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity

*The National Commission on Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity’s recently released final report includes significant new recommendations for reforming fair housing enforcement and federal housing policy to promote housing choice and reverse continuing trends of residential segregation. The Commission, co-chaired by former HUD Secretaries Henry Cisneros and Jack Kemp, was created through the partnership of four leading national civil rights organizations: the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Education Fund (LCCR/EF); the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights under Law (LCCRUL); the National Fair Housing Alliance (NFHA); and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDF). PRRAC served as one of the consultants to the Commission. The key recommendations in the final report include:*

- *Moving fair housing enforcement (investigation and prosecution of discrimination complaints) from HUD to a new independent agency, advised by a Commission appointed by the President, with day-to-day operations overseen by a career staff (in the near term, while this structural change is being implemented, the Commission also recommends separating HUD’s current Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity into two offices, the Office of Fair Housing and the Office of Civil Rights—in order to prioritize and strengthen both fair housing enforcement and internal agency compliance).*
- *Revitalizing the President’s Fair Housing Council to coordinate fair housing activities throughout the federal government, as provided by Executive Order 12892.*
- *Strengthening the Fair Housing Initiatives Program by increased funding to \$52 million immediately, with a longer-term goal of supporting a private fair housing group in every metropolitan region in the country.*
- *A renewed commitment to “affirmatively furthering fair housing” among HUD grantees that includes enforceable time frames, comprehensive agency review of community plans and sanctions for non-compliance.*
- *Incorporating a fair housing analysis in the response to the foreclosure crisis, requiring HUD and Treasury to affirmatively further fair housing in mortgage rescue activities and marketing foreclosed properties.*
- *Restoring the central role of fair housing in the design and implementation of federal housing programs, including major HUD housing programs (Section 8, public housing, HOME, CDBG), the Low Income Housing Tax Credit and USDA housing programs.*
- *Providing a renewed emphasis on the value of diverse, inclusive communities in national media campaigns.*

*Commission members—in addition to former Secretaries Cisneros and Kemp—included Okianer Christian Dark, Associate Dean for Academic Affairs at the Howard University College of Law; Gordon Quan, Houston, Former Mayor Pro Tem and Chair of the Housing Committee for the City of Houston; Pat Combs, past President of the National Association of Realtors; Myron Orfield, Professor at the University of Minnesota School of Law; and I. King Jordan, President-Emeritus of Gallaudet University. A copy of the full Commission report is available at [www.prrac.org](http://www.prrac.org) and on the websites of each of the sponsoring civil rights organizations.*

*The following excerpt (notes omitted) sets out the Commission’s vision for inclusive, diverse communities.*

**F**orty years after the passage of the Fair Housing Act in 1968 and 20 years after the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988, the National Commission on Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity (Commission) was convened to address the significant and ongoing national crisis of housing discrimination and residential segregation. The Commission conducted regional hearings in Chicago, Los Angeles, Boston, Atlanta, and Houston, to collect information and hear testimony about the nature and extent of illegal hous-

ing discrimination and its origins, its connection with government policy and practice, and its effect on American communities. In this report, the Commission calls for renewed efforts to end both old and new patterns of housing discrimination through better enforcement, better education, and systemic change.

When the Fair Housing Act was first passed, racially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods were generally discussed only in terms of benefits to ra-

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## Odetta

We dedicate this issue of *Poverty & Race* to the wonderful musical/political career of Odetta, who passed away in early December at the age of 77. Her powerful, rich voice was there, in person and on recordings, at so many important civil rights events.



cial or ethnic minorities. Today, many recognize that diverse neighborhoods have tangible benefits for all people who live in them and that true diversity is more than just “racial integration.” Rather, a diverse community is one where all residents are included, where no group is privileged above any other group, and where everyone has equal access to opportunity.

The goal of the fair housing movement is to support and promote these inclusive, diverse communities of choice: communities and neighborhoods where families choose to live;

## Resources

[www.aricherlife.org](http://www.aricherlife.org)

[www.integrationagenda.org](http://www.integrationagenda.org)

Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity, *The Geography of Opportunity: Review of Opportunity Mapping Initiatives* (July 2008)—available at <http://www.prrac.org/projects/fairhousingcommission.php> (Los Angeles exhibits)

NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. & Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles *Still Looking to the Future: Voluntary K-12 School Integration* (2008)—available at [www.naacpldf.org](http://www.naacpldf.org)

Smart growth links: [www.smartgrowthamerica.org](http://www.smartgrowthamerica.org), [www.policylink.org](http://www.policylink.org)

Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program ([www.brookings.edu/metro.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/metro.aspx)): Alan Berube, *How to Reverse the Trend of Concentrated Poverty* (2008); Bruce Katz, *Neighborhoods of Choice and Connection* (2005); Anthony Downs, “The Relationship Between Affordable Housing and Growth Management” (2003)

Testimony and exhibits from the hearings of the National Commission on Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity are archived at <http://www.prrac.org/projects/fairhousingcommission.php>

where housing and schools are stable and well supported; where employment is accessible; and where all racial and ethnic groups, and persons with disabilities, are an integral part of the larger community.

What are some of the characteristics of these communities?

- Inclusive, diverse communities have quality schools with diverse student bodies that enhance outcomes for all children.
- Inclusive, diverse communities have a healthy, robust housing market that competes for buyers and renters from all racial and ethnic groups in a region and cannot be easily targeted by predatory lenders.
- Inclusive, diverse communities contribute to the regional economy with a range of housing choices for workers of all income ranges, and help to prevent the harmful concentration of racially isolated poverty at the core of the metropolitan region.
- Inclusive, diverse communities incorporate accessible design and housing options that maximize inclusion of persons with disabilities in the built environment and in communications.
- Inclusive, diverse communities successfully resist sprawl and its negative social and environmental impacts by consolidating growth for a mixed income, diverse population along efficient transportation corridors and by bringing workers closer to regional job centers.

We also recognize that these inclusive and diverse communities can be formed in different ways. They may include predominantly White suburban towns that are becoming more economically and racially diverse; or integrated older inner-ring suburbs facing high rates of foreclosure, which may need infrastructure and marketing support to maintain a stable, diverse population over time; or lower income urban neighborhoods experiencing gentrification and the accompanying influx of new money and

community services that brings both benefits and threats to existing residents. Each of these community contexts demands different types of support in order to maintain a stable, inclusive, diverse character.

Congress passed the Fair Housing Act in 1968 to guarantee the right to choose where to live without facing discrimination or legally imposed obstacles. This is a core value that needs no additional justification. But it is also important to recognize the other benefits and values that are promoted by inclusive and diverse communities:

### ***Diversity in communities leads to diversity in schools.***

A diverse, inclusive learning environment is one of the most important benefits of fair housing. In most parts of the country, housing and school segregation are closely linked. Most school districts rely on geography to assign students, resulting in school demographic patterns tracking residential patterns. School diversity has been shown to reduce racial prejudice, increase racial tolerance, and even improve critical thinking skills. Minority students who attend diverse schools are more likely to graduate from high school, attend and graduate from college, and connect to social and labor networks that lead to higher earning potential as adults.

### ***Inclusive and diverse communities can break down social divisions.***

The deep geographic racial divide in the United States feeds a sense of fear, suspicion, and alienation. In his testimony, Professor John Powell highlighted the impacts of this racial divide on economic inequality, and the sense of unfairness and resentment that geographic separation can foster:

[I]n many regions, we are polarizing into socially, economically and racially isolated enclaves of extreme high and low opportunity. A range of high and low opportunity areas is to be expected; people and places are diverse. The challenge for us, for our democracy, and for our chil-

dren is not that a range of communities exist, but that the gulf between the high- and low-opportunity areas today is often so wide as to hardly be transcended. Often, the highest performing schools, the healthiest air and groceries, the most active social networks critical to finding sustainable employment are concentrated together and removed from the vast majority of residents. These “favored quarters” dot our regions and threaten to undermine a sense of shared community.

Just as school integration can reduce racial prejudice among children, we can expect a similar result in shared communities and neighborhoods. For example, recent research shows that sustained cross-racial contact lowers stereotyping and prejudice, even on a subconscious level.

***Inclusive and diverse communities provide a base for family economic success.***

A home is the major asset for the vast majority of American families and the primary means of building equity and passing wealth from one generation to the next. Yet segregation has made minority families more vulnerable to predatory lending practices as well as to the devastating social and depreciation impacts associated with foreclosures concentrated in a community.

Inclusive, diverse communities attract a wider range of potential buyers from throughout the metropolitan area, which sustains housing prices and leads to more balanced appreciation in home value. Diverse communities are also less likely to be targeted for predatory or subprime loan products.

***Inclusive and diverse communities provide access to opportunity for lower income families.***

Racial segregation *separates* lower income African-American and Latino families from opportunity in metropolitan areas, which predictably leads to depressed outcomes in education,

employment, health, and other measures.

In the 1980s, the Gautreaux Assisted Housing Program demonstrated that families benefited by moving from high poverty, racially isolated neighborhoods to very low poverty, racially integrated suburban communities. These new areas also happened to be areas of high opportunity, with high quality schools and richer employment offerings, which led to positive results for many Gautreaux movers and their children (including higher rates of employment for mothers and academic benefits for children). There was also evidence that these moves to higher-opportunity areas gave residents a “new sense of efficacy and control” and more interracial contact, leading to a reduction in racial stereotypes.

***Inclusive and diverse communities support smart growth and environmental values.***

“Smart growth” planning emphasizes mixed use, mixed income, higher density, pedestrian-friendly communities that are accessible to public transportation, enjoy ample open space and recreational opportunities, and reduce traffic congestion, energy consumption, concentrated poverty, and sprawl. Many smart growth advocates have rejected a no-growth approach to limiting sprawl and have embraced affordable housing as a key element of socially equitable smart growth planning. Affordable housing development distributed equitably across communities in a region furthers smart growth goals by increasing housing densities, encouraging transit-oriented development, bringing low-wage workers closer to jobs, and shifting land use planning from the local to the regional level.

***Inclusive and diverse communities support regional and global competitiveness.***

America’s economy is now centered in metropolitan areas that “encompass large cities, old and new suburbs, and even exurban and rural areas that, by virtue of their interwoven labor and

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housing markets, share common economic destinies.” But segregation has a detrimental impact on the competitiveness of metropolitan areas in our increasingly global economy. A true rebirth of distressed areas (and the cities in which they are located) will only occur if we make these places “neighborhoods of connection that are fully linked to metropolitan opportunities” for individuals and families with a broad range of incomes.

A recent report about Minneapolis/St. Paul explains the consequences of our nation’s current course that is reflective of the situation throughout the nation: “Without serious attention to the next generation of workers, who are more likely to be minority, and more likely to be poor, the Twin Cities workforce will be smaller and less skilled than currently, presenting the possibility of a less competitive future.” Reducing disparities between individuals of different backgrounds and socioeconomic statuses is critical to economic competitiveness and “can promote a strong future workforce, improve the region’s fiscal situation, and build a healthier region.”

All over America, thoughtful advocates, community organizers, and families are working to find ways to build equal opportunity in housing. In this report, we build upon that innovation, those ideas, and the spirit of change, offering concrete recommendations for actions that we believe are critical to move us forward toward our vision of creating and sustaining stable, diverse, inclusive neighborhoods across America. □

added their criticism to his own sense of distress. "I know now," he wrote in 1953, "that for me sex must be sublimated if I am to live with myself." On his release, he resigned from FOR (or was asked to), but with the support of FOR's chairman, A.J. Muste, sought a "cure" with the help of a psychiatrist. The psychiatrist, Robert Ascher, concluded that Rustin would not change, and the two ended up discussing simply how Rustin might be more discreet. He was now unacceptable to FOR, and even to the theoretically tolerant Society of Friends. He eventually found a home with another tiny pacifist organization, the War Resisters League. During the next few years, Bayard Rustin came more to accept himself without guilt.

## **Martin Luther King and A. Philip Randolph**

At about the same time, a then unknown young minister in Montgomery, Alabama was chairing a bus boycott and something called the Montgomery Improvement Association. A. Philip Randolph, long-time activist and head of the largest "Negro" union, The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and some other Northern activists thought there ought to be some way to help. Since the boycott was a non-violent action, it was obvious that "Mr. NVDA" might be helpful. Rustin went to Alabama. In Montgomery, Rustin and King hit it off immediately, and the two talked for many hours about the theory, theology and practice of Non-Violent Direct Action. Rustin always denied that he taught King about NVDA, but King admitted he had not thought deeply about it before. Soon Rustin had to leave, as local authorities and the Montgomery newspaper began to find out about this outsider, this ex-Communist and homosexual who was helping the boycott. So Rustin returned to New York and with others created "In Friendship," a Northern group supporting King. Gradually, Martin Luther King

became better known, and also NVDA, four initials hitherto virtually unknown to most Americans.

On a subsequent visit to Montgomery, Rustin suggested to King that organizing in one Southern city was not enough. There needed to be a South-wide organization protesting against segregation in its many forms and in many places. Probably other people were thinking along the same lines, and after various meetings and conferences, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was founded in 1957. No one paid much attention, and virtually no one realized that SCLC would become perhaps the best known of the direct action organizations of the Civil Rights Movement. While the boycott was still going on, Rustin wrote a series of Working Papers. In one of these, he analyzed why the movement was succeeding and sug-

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## ***He worked out a large program of public works, The Freedom Budget for all Americans.***

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gested that these rules applied to other actions: The protest must be related to the objective; the participants must be those actually aggrieved; the participants must constantly talk about methods and rededicate themselves to the theory and practice of NVDA. If these principles were ignored, as they frequently were, particularly in the North, the protest action often failed.

When, in 1963, A. Philip Randolph chose Bayard Rustin as Deputy Director of the March on Washington, he chose the person who had the ability and experience to carry out a successful demonstration. Randolph had threatened such a march in 1941 in order to get "Negro" workers into the defense industries, and Rustin had been the "Youth Organizer" for that march. That march did not have to take place, because President Roosevelt issued an Executive Order (8802) which officially prohibited racial discrimination in defense plants, but the "March on Washington Movement" continued

formally to exist, and Randolph became known as "Mr. March." This "non-march" was the beginning of Rustin's experience organizing demonstrations.

In one of Rustin's "Working Papers" for what became the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, he recommended that the emerging organization should stress the need for increased Negro voting—which would require federal support. The first action of the SCLC was therefore a "Prayer Pilgrimage" in May of 1957. Randolph, Wilkins and Martin Luther King were co-chairs, and Bayard Rustin and Ella Baker, a vigorous long-time NAACP organizer, in fact organized it. The Prayer Pilgrimage took place on May 17, 1957, with perhaps 15,000 people attending. Martin Luther King delivered the most memorable speech. "Give us the right to vote," he cried. National media took almost no notice of the pilgrimage, and the right to vote was not guaranteed by federal action until 1965.

## **Organizing Marches**

As the Civil Rights Movement gathered momentum, as Southern opposition to school integration mounted, Randolph, as official chairman, but again with Bayard doing the actual planning, organized a Youth March for Integrated Schools in 1958. It was essentially a Northern operation, with strong support from labor unions. Bayard would always continue to believe that the labor movement and Civil Rights Movement could be allies. The March on October 15 had about 10,000 participants. There were stirring speeches, including one by Martin Luther King, read by Coretta Scott King, because her husband was in the hospital recovering from an assassination attempt in Harlem by a deranged black woman. Harry Belafonte, who, along with Roy Wilkins and Jackie Robinson, had also delivered rousing speeches, led a delegation to the White House. President Eisenhower did not receive them, nor even send a staff member. They left a message with a



guard at the gate.

Rustin organized a Second Youth March for Integrated Schools for April 1959. This time, there were over 300 buses and perhaps 25,000 people. Again, the event was hardly noticed by the national media. Again, Martin Luther King gave a rousing speech. Again, Harry Belafonte led a delegation to the White House. This time they were received by Gerald P. Morgan, the only black member of Eisenhower's staff, who assured the delegation that the President was sympathetic to ending discrimination. Rustin told the crowd, "When we come back with 50,000, I promise you, the President will be in town. And when we bring 100,000, Congress will sit in special session."

Beside SCLC, other civil rights organizations were springing up or getting renewed energy, based on the ideas and methods of NVDA. There was the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in the Spring of 1960, inspired by Rustin's friend Ella Baker, and the 1961 Freedom Rides, spearheaded by a revived Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), based explicitly on the Journey of Reconciliation. SCLC was no longer just a few Baptist ministers, but was a presence in the national consciousness. There was the confrontation in Birmingham, with police dogs and water cannon directed against the demonstrators. President Kennedy introduced what became the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Civil Rights Movement had become the most important series of events on the national scene.

By 1963, Randolph, Rustin and others were considering a new march, with more general support, for racial justice, to be part of this burgeoning stream. And Bayard Rustin was the obvious man to make the march happen. Randolph's original idea had been a march to protest widespread "Negro" unemployment. In June, President Kennedy introduced what became the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the aims of the march broadened. Randolph again was the titular head, but Rustin would do the actual work.

This was to be the big one, the one

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Rustin had talked about four years before. The headquarters on West 130<sup>th</sup> Street in Harlem was a beehive of activity: arranging bus schedules, renting the public address system, being sure there were enough portable toilets. and, probably the most time-consuming, raising the money. Of course

#### **He believed the labor and civil rights movements could be allies.**

the NAACP contributed, but most of the civil rights organizations had no money. Contributions came in from the United Auto Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and the largest single donation was from the Archdiocese of Washington, DC.

The march was tightly controlled. Other groups could not blur the message. All placards had to be approved by the central office: "We march for Jobs and Freedom," "End Segregation Now," and the like. The marchers were to come, march, hear music and the speeches, and then leave the city. Rustin knew that any potential white disruptions would come from outside the city, so he arranged with the Washington police department to have white officers on the periphery of the downtown.

There was also great fun at headquarters. Rustin was a great joker, high-spirited. He once joked that what he wanted on his tombstone was,

"This Nigger Had Fun," and he did.

There was opposition to the march and of course to Rustin himself, mostly but not entirely from Southerners. President Kennedy at first opposed the march, but then tried to capture it. Roy Wilkins came to the headquarters one day and said that Kennedy wanted to speak. But the march was supposed to be the people speaking to the President, not the other way around. After a brief pause, during which Rustin pretended to go to the restroom, he told Wilkins that some Negroes might stone the President, a point Rustin invented on the spot—and the request from Kennedy disappeared.

Early on the day of the march, Rustin, in fact full of doubts, was interviewed on the Washington Mall. The reporters pointed out that not many people were there yet. Rustin consulted papers on a clipboard and said in his best English accent, "Everything is precisely on schedule." In fact, the paper was a blank sheet. But soon the people began to come. We know now that the march was a triumph. There were perhaps 250,000 people there, black and white. And yet, what really changed? There was the longest Congressional filibuster in American history against Kennedy's bill, there was the bombing of the girls attending Sunday school in Birmingham. The civil rights demonstrators in Selma, Alabama were beaten. "It proved," said Rustin, "that we were capable of being one people." But was

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anything else accomplished?

With the success of the march, Rustin became a national figure. He spoke to many groups, often colleges. His talks were moving, but rationally moving. With his six-foot two height, he might lean over the podium and might say, “There are three points we have to remember,” then would raise one finger, then after a sentence or two get to point two, two fingers, a few more words, then three fingers. He would never have to pause to say “umm” or to find a word. After the talk, he would often stay up late talking with the students, perhaps sitting in the student union, smoking, with his long legs stretched out in front of him.

## Post-March on Washington

In the Spring and Summer of 1964, civil rights activists, mostly black but with some white participation, organized the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. The MFDP’s aim was to challenge the all-white segregated Mississippi delegation to the National Democratic Convention in Atlantic City that August. The MFDP appeared before the Credentials Committee, and Fannie Lou Hamer made an

### Civil Rights Photos/ Art Exhibit

Any of you coming to DC for the Inauguration (or for other reasons before March 9) should take in the excellent 2-part exhibit at the Smithsonian’s Ripley Ctr. (on the Mall, 1100 Jefferson Dr.)—“Road to Freedom: Photographs of the Civil Rights Movement, 1956-1968” and “After 1968: Contemporary Artists & the Civil Rights Legacy.” Catalogues can be ordered from 202/786-2147, renzaj@si.edu. The former is 160 pp., \$25; the latter, 64 pp., \$10, both + s/h.

eloquent case. Lyndon Johnson, worried about a Southern walk-out, offered, through subordinates, two seats “at large”—that is, not representing any state. The question was, should the MFDP accept? Rustin, Martin Luther King and other national leaders urged acceptance at a meeting of the MFDP on August 26 in the basement of a nearby Baptist Church. While Rustin was making his case, someone from the delegation shouted, “You’re a traitor, Bayard, a traitor. Sit down!” The MFDP turned down the “compromise” and went home. But the national Democratic Party resolved that in the

### He was the leading theorist and practitioner of Non-Violent Direct Action.

future they would not recognize any delegation chosen on a segregated basis. This was the beginning of Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement diverging.

In the Summer of 1964, Harlem exploded with fires, smashing store windows, looting. Rustin, walking around the streets, realized he did not know any one. His work had been with other parts of society. Noting racism in the North, Martin Luther King wanted to move SCLC north, say to Chicago. Bayard was against it, and the attempt proved futile. In fact, while King’s international reputation was growing—he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, and Bayard accompanied him to Oslo—his stature in the United States, as well as the whole NVDA phase of the Civil Rights Movement, was in decline. In 1965, King, against Rustin’s advice, went out to Los Angeles after the Watts riot. Rustin went with him, and the two found that they were regarded as irrelevant by the young people in the streets.

What was in ascendance was some form of nationalism or separatism. Rustin understood how frustration might lead that way, but called the Black Power movement “frustration stupidity.” Rustin was convinced that

much of that frustration stemmed from economic as well as racial injustice. With Leon Keyserling, formerly chair of the President’s Council of Economic Advisors, he worked out a large program of public works which they called the “Freedom Budget for All Americans” [See accompanying article, p. 9.] Thousands of copies of a pamphlet detailing the program were sent out, but the Freedom Budget got nowhere.

Kennedy came to support the Civil Rights Movement both tactically and, as he said, as a moral issue. Lyndon Johnson looked into the TV camera and announced, “we shall overcome.” The Civil Rights Movement was now part of the Democratic Party. Bayard Rustin understood that the realities of American politics had changed, and the Civil Rights Movement had to change too, as he wrote in “From Protest to Politics” (*Commentary* 39: February 1965, 25-31). Rustin, the former pacifist, was even ambiguous about the Vietnam War. We were now part of the process, he argued, and we should no longer act as outsiders. When his pacifist friends were outraged at his support of a man waging a war in Vietnam, he responded, “You don’t understand power. You guys”—and he meant the whole pacifist movement—“can’t deliver a single pint of milk to the kids in Harlem, and Lyndon Johnson can.” Many of his former allies thought he had been seduced by power and gone over to the other side, the establishment side. Rustin was always interested in actual results more than moral purity. And in fact the “establishment,” in the person of J. Edgar Hoover, thought he was enough of a radical threat that the F.B.I. tapped his telephone.

Rustin was a vigorous anti-communist, but he still had a basically class-based view of social issues. A. Philip Randolph, the AFL-CIO and others, in the hopes of uniting the civil rights and labor movements, founded the A. Philip Randolph Institute in 1965. The aim of the APRI was to train young blacks to pass the apprenticeship exams of various unions, particularly the construction trades. These unions had



been obstinate in resisting enrollment of black members. The program proved so successful that soon it became a separate organization and received aid from the U.S. Department of Labor. But Rustin was perceived by members of the civil rights groups as being pro-labor—that is, supportive of a group antagonistic to racial justice. They would have preferred quotas mandated by the federal government. Rustin argued that working with the unions would, in the long run, be more productive than creating the sort of antagonism that quotas would bring. He knew that means and ends were inextricably intertwined. The training program was ended when Ronald Reagan became President.

Rustin was further alienated from the new Civil Rights Movement by the controversy in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, a black neighborhood in Brooklyn. The City tried to “decentralize” the schools by establishing local school boards with somewhat ill-defined power. In May of 1968, the school board for Ocean Hill-Brownsville fired (or “reassigned”) several teachers without the due process required by the contract with the United Federation of Teachers. To Randolph and Rustin, the issue was clear: Union members had been fired illegally. Also, Rustin pointed out, community control could become the equivalent of states’ rights, whereby white communities could conspire against black teachers. To black activists, the Ocean Hill-Brownsville board had exercised their rights—a case of Black Power manifest. The issue was further complicated by the fact that most teachers in New York City were Jewish. There were clear anti-Jewish statements from supporters of the local school board. Rustin supported the union, and that assured his permanent schism with what seemed to be the Northern version of the civil rights organization.

In fact, Bayard Rustin no longer had a place in racial politics. He turned again to the international realm. He loved to travel anyway, and joined the International Rescue Committee. The IRC had been originally established to aid Jewish refugees from Nazi Ger-

many, but now concentrated on refugees all over the world, particularly Southeast Asia. He was often in Thailand, for example, bringing attention and aid to Vietnamese refugees. He was also a frequent election observer as democracy, or at least elections, spread around the world. Rustin was now a celebrity, perhaps, but no longer an engaged participant in social change.

In 1987, he traveled to Haiti as an election observer. On his return, he seemed to sicken, and not improve. He was taken to the hospital, where, early in the morning of August 24, he died of cardiac arrest.

Looking back on the civil rights

era, one is tempted to say, “If only. . . .” If only the March on Washington coalition could have held together; if only integration had been more real and less token; if only NVDA could have been successfully modified to suit Northern conditions; if only the War on Poverty could have been expanded; if only loud black voices for separatism had been more quickly rejected; if only conservative politicians had not exploited racial fears. And yet there has been slow progress, mostly on the basis that Bayard Rustin was predicting. He could not have foreseen the election of Barack Obama, but he would have been in Grant Park that night, with tears in his eyes. □

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## A Freedom Budget for All Americans

by Chester Hartman

The incoming Obama Administration, John Podesta’s Center for American Progress and others seeking to vastly reduce or eliminate poverty in America—39 million of our fellow countrymen-, -women and -children live in poverty, according to the obsolete government measure that understates the problem—would do well to look to and emulate a half-century-old model: A Freedom Budget for All Americans.

It was the work of economist Leon Keyserling and Bayard Rustin, the legendary civil rights and non-violent resistance activist best known for his role as organizer-in-chief of the 1963 March on Washington, then-Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, named to honor the equally legendary head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and who served

as the Institute’s President. (See *P&R* cover article.) The Foreword is by Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Freedom Budget’s seven basic objectives (details of the program of course cannot be described here) were:

- “1. To provide *full employment* for all who are willing and able to work, including those who need education or training to make them willing and able.
  2. To assure *decent and adequate wages* to all who work.
  3. To assure a *decent living standard* to those who cannot or should not work.
  4. To *wipe out slum ghettos* and provide decent homes for all Americans.
  5. To provide *decent medical care and adequate educational opportunities* to all Americans, at a cost they can afford.
  6. To *purify our air and water* and develop our transportation and natural resources on a scale suitable to our growing needs.
  7. To unite sustained full employment with sustained *full production*.
- (Please turn to page 11)

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*Chester Hartman is PRRAC’s Director of Research and editor of the forthcoming Mandate for Change: Policies and Leadership for 2009 and Beyond (Lexington Books). The Freedom Budget (Jan. 1967 Summary version) is available at [www.prrac.org](http://www.prrac.org).*

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## Apologies/Reparations

*We periodically offer a compendium of recent reports dealing with apologies and reparations around the world—for whatever lessons and models they might provide here at home. The most recent appeared in our March 2007 issue. We'll be happy to send you a collection of all earlier such versions; just send us a SASE (59¢ postage).*

- Rev. Bob Jones Univ., the fundamentalist Christian school in Greenville, South Carolina, issued an apology for past racist policies that included a ban until 2000 on interracial dating and its unwillingness until 1971 to admit blacks. (*NY Times*, 11/22/08)

- Pres. Bush signed a bill giving the Army authority to award back pay with interest to 28 black soldiers wrongly convicted of rioting—an Army board overturned the convictions, citing lack of due process—in one of the largest court-martials of World War II. Only one of the soldiers is known to survive. (*NY Times*, 10/15/08)

- A group of about 200 prominent Turkish intellectuals—academics, journalists, writers, artists—issued an apology on the Internet for the World War I-era massacre of more than a million Armenians in Turkey by the Ottoman Turk government. (*NY Times*, 12/16/08)

- A delegation of British Baptists apologized in Jamaica for Britain's role in the transatlantic slave trade. "We have heard God speaking to us. We repent of the hurt we have caused." (*Wash. Post*, 5/31/08)

- Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper, in an address to the House of Commons carried live across Canada, apologized to Canada's native people for the long-time government policy of forcing their children to attend state-funded schools designed to assimilate them. Phil Fontaine, national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, wearing a traditional native headdress, was allowed to speak from the floor in response. The government has offered those taken from their families compensation for the years they attended the residential schools, as part of a lawsuit settlement. Several months earlier, Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd made a similar gesture to the so-called Stolen Generations—thousands of aborigines forcibly taken from their families as children under assimilation policies that lasted from 1910 to 1970. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 6/12/08). [See related articles in Nov./Dec. 2008 *P&R*.]

- A church in St. Augustine, FL, in a "service of reconciliation," apologized for turning away blacks in 1964 and honored two women who, as child civil rights activists, accompanied by an elderly white woman, were barred admission. (SFGate, 6/14/04)

- Ellis Island is adding a new Peopling of America Center, to be completed in 2011, expanding its story of U.S. immigration history, adding for the first time Native Ameri-

cans and African slaves. (*Wash. Post*, 9/25/08)

- The Spanish government, in a "law of historic memory," has offered citizenship to the descendants of those exiled from Spain during the Spanish Civil War and the fascist dictatorship of Gen. Francisco Franco. A half million people, many of them in Argentina, Venezuela, Cuba and elsewhere in Latin America, are expected to file for citizenship. The same law provides public financing to unearth the mass graves of thousands of Spaniards buried during the war. (*NY Times*, 12/29/08)

- Tens of thousands of Mexicans who toiled as railroad workers and farm laborers—*braceros*—in the U.S. from 1941-46 will be allowed to collect back pay under the terms of a settlement of a long-fought class action lawsuit, originally filed in 2001. Under the program, 10% of their pay was deducted and transferred to the Mexican government, to be given to the workers when they returned to Mexico, but many said they never received the pay or even knew about the deduction. Each *bracero*, or surviving heirs, will receive \$3,500. Many are living in California, Texas, Illinois and other parts of the U.S. (*NY Times*, 10/16/08)

- The Magic of an Apology, by Deborah Howard of Guiding Change, examines the potential for apologies to prevent rather than create litigation. <http://guidingchange.org/blog/2008/05/29/the-magic-of-an-apology/#more.64>

- "Paid in Full? A Federal judge closes the door on a reparations suit," by Mick Dumke, appeared in the Winter 2005-2006 issue of *ColorLines*. The suit, brought by 19 plaintiffs from across the country, accused Aetna, CSX, JP Morgan Chase and 14 other companies of "unjust enrichment" and crimes against humanity, noting how the firms' predecessors had owned, traded, insured and transported enslaved Africans—and demanded disclosure of all such involvement and establishment of a trust fund to pay an unspecified amount of restitution. (For a copy, send a SASE to Chester Hartman at PRRAC.)

- The Irish Republican Army apologized to relatives of about a dozen people it murdered and buried in hidden graves over the 30 years of Northern Ireland's sectarian conflict. (*NY Times*, 10/25/03)

- The Christian Brothers, a Roman Catholic order that ran many Irish schools throughout the 20th century, apologized for the actions of a brother convicted of sexually abusing boys from 1959-74. (*NY Times*, 11/27/03)

- “The Reparations Bandwagon,” by Salim Muwakkil, on the acceleration of the national movement to gain reparations for descendants of enslaved Africans, appeared in the Sept. 2006 issue of *In These Times*. (For a copy, send a SASE to Chester Hartman at PRRAC.)

- New York City’s Museum of Natural History, in a ceremony attended by nearly 4 dozen members of the Tseycum First Nation in British Columbia, in traditional dress at the end of a 3,000-mile journey, is repatriating the remains of 55 of their ancestors, guessed to be at least 2,000 years old and at the museum for about 100 years—ending a 7-year campaign. (*NY Times*, 6/18/08)

- The American Medical Association made a public address to the National Medical Association (the black physicians’ group formed in 1895 in response to their exclusion from the AMA and its constituent societies), apologizing for a century of “past wrongs.” (*NY Times*, 7/29/08)

- “Long March to an Apology,” an op-ed by Mindy Kotler, on the justice due to American prisoners of war taken prior to the Dec. 7, 1941 Pearl Harbor attack (members now of the American Defenders of Bataan and Corregidor), appeared in the 5/28/08 *NY Times*. (For a copy, send a SASE to Chester Hartman at PRRAC.)

- Two real estate developers in Stonewall, MS, having just purchased a shuttered cotton mill, discovered the edge of a buried swimming pool, learning that “in its heyday, the kids lived there all day long”—the white kids, that is. In the early 70s, the mill owners filled the pool with dirt rather than integrate it. Now the (white) developers are spending about \$250,000 to excavate and restore the pool and open it up to kids (and adults) of all races. (*AARP Bulletin*, Dec. 2006). (For a copy of the article, send a SASE to Chester Hartman at PRRAC.) □

(BUDGET: Continued from page 9)

tion and high economic growth.

The Freedom Budget proposed an outlay of \$185 billion in 10 years—which “sounds like a great deal of money, and it is a great deal of money.” But it presumed, indeed called for, an expansion of the nation’s economy, leading to increased federal revenues. And of course, even adjusting for 2009 dollars, that sum is dwarfed by what we now spend in bailout and war funding. The document reported that 34 million Americans were then living in poverty, 28 million others “just on the edge... Almost one-third of our nation lives in poverty or want.” (Shades of FDR...)

The 211 signers of the document represented a who’s who of late 60s progressive thinking and activism: Walter Reuther, I.W. Abel, David Dubinsky, Albert Shanker et al. from the labor movement; academics Kenneth Clark, John Kenneth Galbraith, Gunnar Myrdal, Hylan Lewis, C. Vann Woodward, David Riesman et al.; civil rights leaders Dorothy Height, Roy Wilkins, Floyd McKissick, Whitney Young, Jr., John Lewis, Vernon Jordan; Ralph Bunche, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Jules Feiffer, Father Robert Drinan, Burke

(Please turn to page 12)

## PRRAC Update

- At our recent 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration, PRRAC honored one of its founding Board members, **Florence Wagman Roisman**, who is retiring from the Board after many years of service. Florence is William F. Harvey Professor of Law at the Indiana University School of Law-Indianapolis. She has written extensively on race and federal housing policy, and has been an innovator in the teaching of property law. She has helped inspire PRRAC to maintain a strong focus on school and housing desegregation, and has taken a lead role in a number of PRRAC conferences and projects, including the Third National Conference on Housing Mobility in 2004. Before coming to law teaching, Florence worked at the National Housing Law Project and at Neighborhood Legal Services in DC. We will miss Florence, but we expect to call on her regularly for advice and assistance!

- PRRAC Board member **Don Nakanishi** last November was awarded the Yale Medal, the highest award presented by the Associa-

tion of Yale Alumni, honoring outstanding individual service to the University (where he got his undergraduate degree).

- **Phil Tegeler’s** analysis of the implications of the Supreme Court’s voluntary school integration decision on fair housing policy has been published in a new book from the Urban Institute, *Public Housing: The Legacy of Racial Segregation*, edited by (PRRAC Social Science Advisory Board member) Margery Austin Turner, Susan J. Popkin and Lynette Rawlings. Available from the Urban Institute Press (304 pp., \$29.50 pb). Order online at <http://www.uiupress.org>

- Former (and founding) PRRAC Board member **Robert Greenstein** recently received the prestigious (and monetarily hefty: \$250,000) annual Heinz Award for his long-time leadership of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

- **Chester Hartman** spent 3 days last November at Hofstra University as Visiting Presidential Scholar.



(BUDGET: Continued from page 11)

Marshall, Benjamin Spock.... (Truth in advertising: I was one of the signers, in my then position at the MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies—something I had forgotten about until retrieving a copy of the document from the NY Public Library's wonderful Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.)

Randolph's Introduction eloquently speaks in a voice that could well be Barack Obama's, characterizing America 2009:

"[In] the richest and most produc-

tive society ever known to man, the scourge of poverty and must be abolished—not in some distant future, not in this generation, but within the next ten years!... The tragedy is that the workings of our economy so often pit the white poor and the black poor against each other at the bottom of society... [A]ll Americans are the victims of our failure as a nation to distribute democratically the fruits of our abundance. For, directly or indirectly, not one of us is untouched by the steady spread of slums, the decay of our cities, the segregation and overcrowding of our public schools, the shocking de-

terioration of our hospitals, the violence and chaos in our streets, the idleness of able-bodied men deprived of work, and the anguished demoralization of our youth....[T]he 'Freedom Budget'... is not visionary or utopian, It is feasible. It is concrete. It is specific. It talks dollars and sense. It sets goals and priorities. It tells how these can be achieved. And it places responsibility for leadership with the Federal Government, which alone has the resources equal to the task."

Yes, we can.... □

## Resources

*Most Resources are available directly from the issuing organization, either on their website (if given) or via other contact information listed. Materials published by PRRAC are available through our website: [www.prrac.org](http://www.prrac.org). Prices include the shipping/handling (s/h) charge when this information is provided to PRRAC. "No price listed" items often are free.*

*When ordering items from PRRAC: SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (42¢ unless otherwise indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate from which issue of P&R you are ordering.*

### Race/Racism

- "Katrina's Hidden Race War," by A.C. Thompson, and his accompanying investigative journalism article, "Body of Evidence," appeared in the Jan. 5, 2009 issue of *The Nation*, documenting the extraordinary degree of white

vigilante activity in New Orleans in the wake of Katrina. [11195]

- **The Hip Hop Wars: What We Talk About When We Talk About Hip Hop—And Why It Matters**, by Tricia Rose (308 pp., 2008, \$15.95), has been published by Basic Civitas, 212/340-8162, [www.basiccivitasbooks.com](http://www.basiccivitasbooks.com) [11201]

- "One Mosaic; Many Voices," at the University of Baltimore Langsdale Library, commemorates the legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and "the stories of those touched by his assassination, the disorder it spurred and the efforts at rebirth that followed." Jan. 15, 4-6 pm, is Gallery Opening, with Multimedia Showing, followed by performances and panel discussion. Visitors are welcome to record personal experiences or reflections through a memory quilt to be displayed alongside the mosaic, which will be on display at the Library throughout the spring. Inf. from 410/837-4290, [cralls1@gmail.com](mailto:cralls1@gmail.com) [11224]

Please drop us a line letting us know how useful our Resources Section is to you, as both a lister and requester of items. We hear good things, but only sporadically. Having a more complete sense of the effectiveness of this networking function will help us greatly in foundation fundraising work (and is awfully good for our morale). Drop us a short note, letting us know if it has been/is useful to you (how many requests you get when you list an item, how many items you send away for, etc.) Thank you.

### Poverty/Welfare

- **Asset-Building and Low-Income Families**, by Signe-Mary McKernan & Michael Sherraden (300 pp., 2008, \$29.50), has been published by Urban Institute Press, BTurpen@URBAN.ORG [11211]

### Criminal Justice

- "Training for the Long Run," a conference by the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, will take place Jan. 22-25, 2009 in Harrisburg, PA. Keynoters are Benjamin Jealous,

Pres. & CEO of the NAACP, and Sister Helen Prejean. Inf. from 202/331-4090, [www.NCADP.org](http://www.NCADP.org) [11239]

### Economic/Community Development

- **The Center for Neighborhood Technology Biennial Report 2006/2007** is available (likely free) from Kathryn Tholin, their CEO, at 2125 W. North Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, 773/269-4029, [www.cnt.org](http://www.cnt.org) [11200]

## Education

- **“Measuring Up 2008,”** from the National Ctr. for Public Policy and Higher Education, reports that although states have made modest gains in preparing students for college, more students are failing to graduate. Available at [measuringup2008.highereducation.org/index.php](http://measuringup2008.highereducation.org/index.php) [11197]

- **“Essentials of High School Reform: New Forms of Assessment and Contextual Teaching and Learning”** (87 pp., Sept. 2003, \$8) is available from the American Youth Policy Forum, 1836 Jefferson Pl. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-9731; downloadable at [www.aypf.org](http://www.aypf.org) [11206]

- **“Relationships, Rigor, and Readiness: Strategies for Improving High Schools,”** by Janet Quint, Saskia Levy Thompson & Margaret Bald (45 pp., Oct. 2008), is available (no price listed) from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016, 212/532-3200, [www.mdrc.org](http://www.mdrc.org) [11207]

- **“Finance and Resource Issues in High School Reform,”** by Heather Voke & Betsy Brand (28 pp., July 2003, \$5), is available from the American Youth Policy Forum, 1836 Jefferson Pl. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-9731, [www.aypf.org](http://www.aypf.org) [11209]

- ***Qualitative Research Methods in Education and Educational Technology***, by Jerry W. Willis (2008, \$39.99), has been published by IAP-Information Age Publishing Co. [george@infoagepub.com](mailto:george@infoagepub.com), [www.infoagepub.com](http://www.infoagepub.com) [11223]

- **“Policy Roadmap for School-Centered Community Revitalization”** is a 2008 report, by Abt Associates, released by Enterprise Community Partners. Possibly free, from Kristin Siglin, Enterprise Comm. Partners, 10277 Wincopin Circle, #500, Columbia, MD 21044, 410/964-1230, [x2727\\_ksiglin@enterprisecommunity.org](mailto:x2727_ksiglin@enterprisecommunity.org) [11226]

- **“Children As Guinea Pigs,”** by Deborah Menkart, criticizing the Wash., DC plan (and by implication similar plans in other school districts) to provide financial incentives to middle-school students for good attendance and behavior, appeared in a recent issue of *Rethinking Schools*. A SASE to PRRAC will get you a copy of the 1-page article. [11237]

## Environment

- **“Environmental Justice Through the Eye of Hurricane Katrina,”** by Reilly Morse (43 pp., 2008), is available (possibly free) from the Joint Ctr. for Political & Economic Studies’ Health Policy Inst., 1090 Vermont Ave. NW, #1100, Wash., DC 20005, 202/789-3539, [www.jointcenter.org](http://www.jointcenter.org) [11216]

- **“It’s Not Hard Building Green”** is the theme of the 21-page Fall 2008 issue of *Rural Voices*, the quarterly magazine of the Housing Assistance Council—subs are free: 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, #606, Wash., DC 20005, 202/842-8600, [ruralvoices@ruralhome.org](mailto:ruralvoices@ruralhome.org) [11222]

- **“Environmental Policy: A Multinational**

**Conference on Policy Analysis and Teaching Methods,”** co-sponsored by the KDI School of Public Policy and Management, the Univ. of Maryland School of Public Policy and the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, will be held **June 11-13, 2009** in Seoul, Korea. Call for papers has a Jan. 28 deadline. Inf. from Prof. Peter Balint, George Mason Univ., 703/993-1404. [11235]

## Families/ Women/ Children

- **“State of America’s Children 2008”** (80 pp.) has been issued by the Children’s Defense Fund. Downloadable. Contact them at 25 E St. NW, Wash., DC 20001, 800/CDF-1200, [cdinfo@childrensdefense.org](mailto:cdinfo@childrensdefense.org), [www.childrensdefense.org](http://www.childrensdefense.org) [11194]

- ***YouthBuild Bulletin*** is the (quarterly?) newsletter of YouthBuild USA and the National YouthBuild Coalition. Subs. likely free from them at 58 Day St., Somerville, MA 02144, 617/623-9900, [www.YouthBuild.org](http://www.YouthBuild.org) [11214]

- **Our Bodies, Ourselves** has a (quarterly?) newsletter, possibly free from them, at 5 Upland Rd., #3, Cambridge, MA 02140, 617/245-0200, [office@bwhbc.org](mailto:office@bwhbc.org), [www.ourbodiesourselves.org](http://www.ourbodiesourselves.org) [11221]

## Health

- **“No More Katrinas: How Reducing Dispari-**

**ties Can Promote Disaster Preparedness,”** by Michael R. Wenger (16 pp., 2008), is available (possibly free) from the Joint Ctr. for Political & Economic Studies’ Health Policy Inst., 1090 Vermont Ave. NW, #1100, Wash., DC 20005, 202/785-3539, [www.jointcenter.org](http://www.jointcenter.org) [11215]

- **“Connecting the Dots: Developing a Holistic Picture of Children’s Health”** (49 pp., Nov. 2008) is Issue Brief #32 from Grantmakers in Health. Available from them (possibly free) at 1100 Connecticut Ave., #1200, Wash., DC 20036, 202/452-8331. [11236]

- **“Health Care Reform and Children: The Prognosis for Change in 2009,”** sponsored by The Urban Institute and Chapin Hall- Univ. of Chicago, will be held **Jan. 15, 2009** at the Urban Inst., 9-10:30 am. While this issue of *P&R* almost certainly will arrive too late for you to attend, a recording of the event will be posted on both organizations’ websites; inf. at [info@chapinhall.org](mailto:info@chapinhall.org) [11234]

- **“Health Action 2009,”** the 14th Annual Grassroots Meeting of Families, will be held **Jan. 29-31, 2009** in DC. Speakers include lots of Members of Congress (Max Baucus, Arthur Davis, John Dingell, Dick Durbin, Ted Kennedy, Claire McCaskill, Henry Waxman), as well as Tom Daschle, EJ Dionne, Gov. Kathleen Sebelius and many others. Inf. from Families USA, 1201 NY Ave. NW, #1100, Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-

3030, info@families.usa [11227]

- **“Health Care Access Conference,”** sponsored by ARISE Citizens’ Policy Project, will be held **Feb. 9, 2009** at Birmingham Southern College. Inf. from 800/832-9060. [11219]

## Homelessness

- **“Report of the Special Commission Relative to Ending Homelessness in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,”** a 41-page, Dec. 28, 2007 report, is available at [www.mass.gov/Ehed/docs/dhcd/hc/finalreport2008.doc](http://www.mass.gov/Ehed/docs/dhcd/hc/finalreport2008.doc) [11233]

## Housing

- ***Public Housing and the Legacy of Segregation***, eds., (PRRAC Social Science Advisory Board member) Margery Austin Turner, Susan J. Popkin & Lynette Rawlings (185 pp., 2009, \$29.50), has been published by the Urban Institute. [11198]

- **“In the Wake of Katrina: The Continuing Saga of Housing and Rebuilding in New Orleans,”** by James H. Carr, H. Beth Marcus, Shehnaz Niki Jagpal & Nandinee Kutty (25 pp., 2008), is available (possibly free) from the Joint Ctr. for Political & Economic Studies’ Health Policy Inst., 1090 Vermont Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20005, 202/789-3539, [www.jointcenter.org](http://www.jointcenter.org) [11217]

- **Wide Racial Disparities in Lorain County (OH) Mortgage Lending** were found in a recent

study by the Housing Research & Advocacy Center. Contact them for a copy: 3631 Perkins Ave., #3A-2, Cleveland, OH 44114, 206/361-9240. [11238]

## Immigration

- **“Building Community: The Ethiopians of Los Angeles,”** an article in the Fall 2008 issue of *Network*, the periodical of the California Council for the Humanities, describes a two-year multimedia project capturing the identity struggles of one of California’s newest immigrant groups. The issue is available (likely free) from the Council, 312 Sutter St., #601, SF, CA 94108, 415/391-1474, [www.californiastories.org](http://www.californiastories.org) [11202]

## Miscellaneous

- ***A Tale of Two Cities: Santo Domingo and New York after 1950***, by Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof (2007), has been published by Princeton Univ. Press. [11196]

- **“Addressing the Root Causes of Human Insecurity”** is a 16-page report on the 2008 International Caux Conferences, available (possibly free) from Caux, Box 4419, CH-6002 Lucerne, Switzerland, +41 41 310 12 61, [confsec@caux.ch](mailto:confsec@caux.ch), [www.caux.ch](http://www.caux.ch) [11204]

- **“Understanding the Role of African American Churches and Clergy in Community Crisis Response,”** by Karyn Trader-Leigh (12 pp., 2008), is available (possibly free) from the Joint Ctr. for Political &

Economic Studies’ Health Policy Institute, 1090 Vermont Ave. NW, #1100, Wash., DC 20005, 202/789-3539, [www.jointcenter.org](http://www.jointcenter.org) [11218]

- ***The Univ. of Mississippi School of Law Hurricane Recovery Law Journal*** is available at [mslj.law.olemiss.edu/Current%20Issue\\_3.html](http://mslj.law.olemiss.edu/Current%20Issue_3.html) [11228]

- ***Undoing the Bush-Cheney Legacy: A Tool Kit for Congress & Activists***, ed. Ann Fagan Ginger (178 pp., 2008, no price listed), is available from the Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute, PO Box 673, Berkeley, CA 94701-0673, 510/848-0599, [mcli@mcli.org](mailto:mcli@mcli.org), [www.mcli.org](http://www.mcli.org) [11232]

- **“From Meltdown to Rebound: A Crisis Is a Terrible Opportunity to Waste,”** sponsored by the California Budget Project, will be held **March 19, 2009** in Sacramento. Inf. from them at 1107 9th St., #310, Sacramento, CA 95814. [11220]

## Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

- **Postdoctoral Visiting Scholar Fellowship in Asian American Studies and Ethnic Studies** is being offered by the UCLA Institute of American Cultures, in cooperations with UCLA’s 4 Ethnic Studies Research Centers (American Indian, Asian American, African American, Chicano). Applic. deadline is Jan. 16, but if

this issue of *P&R* arrives after that, perhaps they will still allow an application. Inf. from 310/825-1233, [iacoordinator@gdnet.ucla.edu](mailto:iacoordinator@gdnet.ucla.edu). Applic form available at [gdnet.ucla.edu/iacweb/applic/htm](http://gdnet.ucla.edu/iacweb/applic/htm) [11199]

- **The Villers Fellowship for Health Care Justice** is administered by Families USA. Deadline is Jan. 15—if this issue of *P&R* arrives after that date, you might be able to get them to relent. [villersfellowship@familiesusa.org](mailto:villersfellowship@familiesusa.org). Year-long, f.t., salaried (\$35,000) position at Families USA’s DC office. Inf./application form at [www.familiesusa.org/about/the-villers-fellowship.html](http://www.familiesusa.org/about/the-villers-fellowship.html) [11212]

- **The Wellstone Fellowship for Social Justice**, administered by Families USA, aims to advance social justice through health care advocacy by focusing particularly on the unique challenges facing communities of color. Year-long, f.t., salaried (\$35,000) position at Families USA’s DC office. Applic. deadline Feb. 6. Inf./applic. form from [wellstonefellowship@familiesusa.org](http://wellstonefellowship@familiesusa.org) [11213]

- **The Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute (Berkeley, CA)** is filling 3 volunteer positions: 1) Someone to put together the 13th ed. of MCLI’s “Human Rights Organizations & Periodicals Directory”; 2) a Grant Writer to draft proposals for a series of 2009 projects; 3) a publications outreach expert to help sell MCLI books and discs. Inf. from Kot, 510/848-0599. [11231]



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